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Message Text

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 09321 070806Z

12
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 9321

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PK, MORG
SUBJECT: THE PAKISTAN MILITARY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF AN AIRGRAM ENTITLED "THE PAKISTAN MILITARY IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC", WHICH IS BEING POUCHED TO ADDRESSEES.

2. THE MUSLIMS ON THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT HAVE TRADITIONALLY ADMIRED THE WARRIOR CLASS. THIS HISTORICAL RESPECT WAS COMBINED WITH THE PROUD MILITARY TRADITIONS OF THE BRITISH/ INDIAN ARMY WHEN THE PAKISTAN MILITARY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1947. THE MILITARY'S REPUTATION REMAINED HIGH THROUGH THE 50S CULMINATING IN THE 1958 ASSESSION TO POWER OF AYUB KHAN. SINCE THAT TIME HOWEVER THE PAKISTAN MILITARY PASSED THROUGH SEVERAL CRISES WHICH RADICALLY ALTERED THE POPULAR PERCEPTION OF ITS ROLE.

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 09321 070806Z

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3. IN THE LATE 60S THE PRIVILEDGED POSITION OF THE MILITARY AND ITS GROWING CORRUPTION LED TO INCREASING CYNICISM ABOUT THE MOTIVES OF THE SEFIOR RANKS. DURING YAHYA KHAN'S LEADERSHIP, 1968-71, THE MILITARY FURTHER SHOWED ITSELF AS POLITICALLY INEPT AND UNFIT TO EXERCISE DIRECT RULE. THE NADIR OF THE ARMED FORCES REPUTION WAS REACHED IN 1971 WHEN IT WAS RIDICULED FOR THE NUMBER OF PRISONERS CAPTURED IN EAST PAKISTAN AND CRITICIZED FOR THE REPORTED ATROCITIES COMMITTED.

4. THE MAJOR RESULT OF THE TRAUMAS OF THE LATE 60S IS THAT THE PAKISTAN MILITARY IS LESS INCLINED TO BECOME INVOLVED IN POLITICS THAN IS THE MILITARY IN MOST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IT IS STILL THE COURT OF LAST RESORT AT TIME OF MAJOR POLITICAL CRISIS, HOWEVER, AND IS A POTENTIAL FORCE THAT CANNOT BE HONORED. PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO HAS STRUCK A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE PAK MILITARY. IT IS CONTENT TO REMAIN OUTSIDE THE POLITICAL ARENA AND BHUTTO HAS INSURED THAT ITS BASIC NEEDS ARE MET SO IT WILL NOT BE A THREAT TO HIM.

5. THE PAKISTAN MILITARY SUFFERS FROM A GENERATION GAP WHICH IS IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE OF PAK/INDIAN AND PAK/US RELATIONS. THE SENIOR OFFICERS OF TODAY, WHO WERE PRESENT AT PARTITION, ARE VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE MIDDLE GRADE OFFICERS OF THE PAK ARMY. THE OFFICER OF 1947 WAS TYPIFIED AS A SANDHURST GRADUATE, SOPHISTICATED MUSLIM, WHO IS GENERALLY COSMOPOLITAN,
AND HAS A WORLD VIEW LACKING AMONG YOUNGER OFFICERS. HE WAS ALSO GENERALLY FROM THE ELITE LANDED CLASS. IN COMPARISON THE MIDDLE GRADE OFFICERS ONLY KNOW OF INDIA FROM WHAT THEY HAVE READ ANE BEEN TAUGHT AND ARE THEREFORE MORE CHAUVINISTIC AND XENOPHONIC. THEY ARE MORE INTENSE IN THEIR DEVOTION TO PAST. AND THEY HAVE A GREATER SENSE OF ISLAMIC UNITY. THESE MIDDLE GRADE OFFICERS, USUALLY FROM MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES AND MORE PAROCHIAL AND ZEALOUS THAN THE PREDECESSORS, WILL BE LEADING THE MILITARY IN ANOTHER 10 YEARS. DURING CONVERSATIONS WITH THEM, ONE IS STRUCK BY THE INTENSITY OF THE ANIMOSITY THEY FEEL TOWARD INDIA AND THEIR DEEPLY CONFIDENTIAL

FELT BELIEF THAT RECONSILITION BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND HINDUS IS NOT POSSIBLE.IN CONTRAST WITH THE BROADER VIEW OF THEIR SENIORS, YOUNGER OFFICERS WILL BE A GROWING FORCE ON THE SIDE OF SUSPICION AND CONFRONTATION WITH INDIA IN FUTURE YEARS.

6. PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST MAY ALSO BE COLORED BY THE YOUNDER OFFICES' ATTITUDES. ALTHOUGH

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THEY RESPECT THE WEST FOR ITS STRENGTH, THEY DO NOT HAVE THE SAME CLOSE AFFINITY AND UNDERSTANDING WITH WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. THEY ARE CRITICAL OF WESTERN AMORALITY AND DECADENCE. THE VERY FEW YOUNGER OFFICERS WHO HAVE TRAINED IN THE STATES SHARE THE FEELING OF THEIR ELDERS OF ADMIRATION FOR THE WEST AND THE US SPECIFICALLY. IT IS IRONIC THAT AT THE TIME OF GROWING INSULARITY IN PAK MILITARY THE AMOUNT OF TRAINING IN THE US TO COMBAT THAT NEGATIVE TENDENCY IS FURTHER RESTRICTED EACH YEAR.

7. AS THE MIDDLE GRADE OFFICERS MATURE THEIR PAROCHIALISM WILL BE SOMEWHAT MITIGATED. ALTHOUGH THEIR HORIZONS ARE BOUND TO WIDEN, THEY WILL NOT DO SO IN THE SAME DIRECTION AS THEIR ELDERS. AS THE YOUNGER OFFICERS LOOK ABROAD FOR MODELS TO EMULATE AND SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING, THEY WILL FOCUS MORE ON THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND THEIR NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST THAN ON THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.

8. WE DO NOT SEE ON THE HORIZON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL IN PAKISTAN. HOWEVER THE GROWING ISLAMICIZATION AND INSULARITY OF PAKISTAN'S FUTURE MILITARY LEADERS INDICATE A TREND TOWARD INCREASED CHAUVIINISM AND GREATER SYMPATHY WITH THE GOALS OF ISLAMIC PRUITY. EVEN IGNORING THE SLIGHT POSSIBILITY OF A DRAMATIC RADICALIZATION OF THE MILITARY IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THIS MOVEMENT IS A DISQUIETING COMMENTARY ON THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE PAK MILITARY.
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